

that it has been forced into bankruptcy; and it has as well been an outrage upon the small shippers who have been compelled to pay full rates. The interstate commerce law which is so effective against workingmen, was adopted for the express purpose of preventing such discriminations and punishing the perpetrators thereof. In spite of the publicity given to these facts, the courts have been so busy endeavoring to punish workingmen for leaving their jobs that they have had no time to devote to such trivial matters.

"The workingmen belonging to the American Railway union retired from the employment of the railways at their own will; they are now and have always been free to return when they desired. Their officers and directors proposed to the General Managers' association at Chicago that if they would receive their former employees without prejudice they had no doubt that traffic would be resumed at once. These overtures were scornfully rejected. Since that time tremendous pressure has been brought to bear upon the men at Pullman to return to work, and it has been announced from day to day that the works would be opened. When the gates were opened only three out of 5,000 reported.

"It is thus seen that the strike is not yet at an end, and we appeal to all lovers of justice everywhere to give all moral, material and especially financial assistance they can to these men, who to-day have "Hobson's choice"—either to starve in idleness or to starve in the employment of the Pullman Palace Car company. We also appeal to the people to desert the old political parties, which have shown themselves equally inimical to the interests of the common people and friendly to the great vampire corporations of the land. Let none but friends of popular rule be put on guard throughout the nation, so that when the next struggle takes place between workingmen and their oppressors it may not be found that militia, soldiery, constabulary, public prosecutors, courts, congress, and the president are ready to throw their influence and authority upon the wrong side.

"In this connection we call attention to the praiseworthy fairness of Governors Altgeld, Hogg, Waite, Pennoyer and Lewelling, and also the manly course of Mayor Hopkins, of Chicago, which indicate that the people might well expect the preservation of peace without the oppression of workingmen if they will but see to it that the men whom they select to office are not the mere hirelings of corporations.

"In the present struggle, as well as in all the struggles of the past between workingmen and their employers, it has been found that there is no provision in the laws of the country to adjudicate disputes between employer and employee. The only laws which are called into operation are those for the preservation of public order. There is great need of legislation to enable the peaceable adjudication of labor disputes.

"For the purpose of making clear what legislation is required we represent to you that the following is the history of the intervention of public authority to adjudicate private disputes. In the beginning men fought out all private differences as differences between employers and employees are now fought out. If one man took from another his possessions the injured party gathered his friends and endeavored to retake his property. Human life was a test of strength between individuals, and the strong became masters over the weak. In due time these masters discovered that to allow their subalterns to fight

out their differences disturbed the peace of the masters and weakened their fighting power. Consequently, in their own interest, the masters decreed that all such differences must be submitted to them for adjudication. When the sway of the masters was extended over large kingdoms it became necessary to delegate the office of judge or arbiter. The appointed judges, however, always sat in the sovereign's stead, and the final appeal was always to the sovereign himself.

"Before these courts the subalterns were forced to bring all disputes, however personal or private, which might cause a disturbance of the peace of the sovereign or damage to his interests. Disputes concerning the most sacred relations between men, such as those of husband and wife or parent and child, were and are not excepted from the jurisdiction of the courts. Disputes between laborers and their employers were not included, however, because in those days the question of laborer and employer was that of slave and master, consequently disputes between laborers and employers took, in those days, the form of insurrection. The laws recognized no rights of the slave, and therefore took no further notice of the dispute than to assist the master to put down the rebellion of his slaves. Slavery has been so lately abolished in this country that our laws even now are only applicable to slave conditions. It is the same as if the government had no tribunal for the adjudication of property disputes, but sternly repressed the active seeking to recover that which has been wrongfully taken.

"Such a state of anarchy is no longer endurable. These disagreements between employers and employees are at intervals fought at enormous expense, not merely to the parties to the quarrel, but to the people of the whole country. These people are in this land of the free the sovereign whose peace should not be disturbed and whose interests should be preserved. The sovereign people should assert their right to rule.

"We, therefore, citizens of the republic, appeal to you fellow voters of our common country, to support the party which bears the name of the sovereign people, which party stands ready to pledge itself that when into his hands is given the government, disputes between employer and employee will no longer be the only disputes excepted in the various states and the nation from the jurisdiction of the established courts. Let no man sit as your representative in state or national legislature who is not pledged to the adoption of a law which will cause all such differences to be submitted to the unprejudiced decision of a properly constituted court and jury, to the end that public peace may be permanently preserved and tremendous losses no longer be inflicted upon all the citizens of the republic. And since the American Railway union has at no stage of this dispute asked more than this of their antagonists, it is for this and nothing more that we come before you with this appeal."

#### An Editorial Review.

Though at the time we write the throes that have agitated the labor world are not yet over, it may be said that practically the strike has passed into the domain of history. Many lessons may be gathered for the next great industrial war, and if we have but fairly assimilated one or two of these, the struggle, with all of its attendant misery, will not have been in vain. Some of the lessons to be noted are referred to elsewhere in our columns;

but amongst the many, there is one to which we may here allude, viz., the need for a great daily labor journal, a newspaper not devoted to this or that trade or organization, but devoted to the interests of industrialism as a whole, and yet capable, by its sprightliness, by its ability, and by its general news, of taking a foremost place amongst leading dailies. At present we have

#### JOURNALISTIC PARTIALITY.

The Herald affects to hold the balance evenly, but eventually plants the editorial flat into one scale. Editor Dana of the Sun enlightens the world (with a small w) from a distance of 5,000 miles, and, of course, knows more about matters than the men on the spot. The World (with a big w) publishes sensational articles on the Keeley cure, and other similar topics, which have no possible bearing upon the justice of the striker's demand, but which were evidently intended to do the men's cause as much harm as possible. Finally, the worthy editor, fearing that the nominal circulation of 567,118, might be seriously diminished, takes a seat on the fence, and makes us breathe a sanguinary wish that that fence had been a spiked one. The result of the excoitations on the fence was the mission of "Nellie Bly," and a vivid pen-picture from her of REMUNERATIVE PHILANTHROPY AT PULLMAN.

We have a presentment of the ideal town, built on the purest eleemosynary principles, with model cottages, model gas and water supply and everything that the heart of man could desire. For the model cottage, the philanthropist makes the employee pay him a trifle of 59 per cent. over and above the average rents in neighboring places. Water yields the same disinterested person-

age 6 per cent., while gas is retailed at \$2.25 per 1,000. Even the Consolidated Gas company, of New York, has not the impudence to charge more than \$1.25 and several Brooklyn companies now charge 90 cents per 1,000. Then the tenant of the model cottage pays 50 cents a month for shutters, if he wants them, and the same amount if he does not want them. All repairs also are made to yield a profit to the impecunious Pullman, and the modest charge of 50 cents is made for every nail driven into the wall. Nor must it be thought that the spiritual needs of the inhabitants are without attention. With characteristic magnanimity, Mr. Pullman has built a very pretty church, of which a print was published in the Herald. In a spirit of broad-minded charity, no discrimination is made in favor of a particular denomination. No. They do these things better in our ideal city. Mr. Pullman lets out the church to the highest bidder, and draws a modest percentage from the house of God. At present the Presbyterians are the highest bidders, and they pay \$100 a month for their privileges. In time it might be possible to run through the whole gamut of divergent sects.

We come now to the real

#### ESSENCE OF THE DISPUTE.

It consisted in a demand for arbitration. Elsewhere this would not have seemed a very heinous crime. Lord Rosebery arbitrated for the English miners and brought matters to a triumphant conclusion. Mr. Asquith has recently settled the London cab dispute by a similar process. Arbitration, therefore, is not a revolutionary procedure, advocated by "socialists and other evil-disposed persons." He is a recognized power for peace. In this

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